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The Muſes Fountain Clear:

OR, THE

Dutiful OXONIAN's *Defence*

OF HIS

MOTHER's LOYALTY

To His Preſent Majeſty

KING *GEORGE.*

Wherein is fully Demonſtrated,

That the Univerſity of *OXFORD* in general, and her moſt noted Members, *viz.* the Biſhop of *ROCHESTER*, the Biſhop of *BRISTOL*, and Dr. *SACHEVERELL*, have, by their moſt Free and Sacred Acts, conſtantly promoted and maintain'd the *REVOLUTION* and *PROTESTANT SUCCESSION.*

LONDON,

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THE

THE

Muſes Fountain *Clear*:

OR, THE

Dutiful OXONIAN*'s Defence of his Mother's Loyalty to his preſent Majeſty King* GEORGE.

OUR Two Univerſities influence the Principles of the Nation two ways: 1. By the Examples of their Members, who are juſtly eſteem'd for their ſound Judgment and Learning; and being for the moſt part Clergymen, are reaſonably preſumed to be as Conſcientious, as they are Wiſe and Learned. 2. By the Concern they have in the Education of ſuch as bear Offices in Church and State, who generally paſs through one of theſe Nurſeries, and muſt needs retain the Impreſſions, which they receiv'd there in 1

their tender Years; and exert the ſame in their publick Charge and Miniſtry.

2 Now as to the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, ſetting aſide a few crazed, muddy Heads, as void of Light as the Primitive Chaos, every Academick is ſtrictly Epiſcopal. And not only his Learning, but his Intereſt obliges him to continue ſo. The Dignities and Preferments of the *Hierarchy* infinitely outſhine all the Rewards that are, or can be, annext to the moroſe Dicipline of a ſordid Conventicle.

3 By the ſame Reaſons of Intereſt are we all bound to ſupport the Monarchy. For as one of our wiſeſt Princes affirm'd, *that if there were no Biſhop, there wou'd quickly be no King*; ſo our own ſad Experience hath taught us, that when there was no King, there was no Biſhop. Our Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Conſtitution are like *Hippocrates*'s Twins; they laugh and cry, live and dye together. Presbyterrianiſm is a meer Republican; utterly inconſiſtent with the Grandeur and Felicity of a Monarchy. I cannot in Conſcience perſwade any Man to travel into *Scotland*; I never heard but of one *Animalcle* that affected the Northern Road. But whoever happens to go thither, I adviſe him to take Notice of the Bleſſings of the Presbyterian Diſcipline: Ever ſince the Days of *John Knox*, *Scotland* hath felt a Con-

Conſumption of Wealth, Honour and Honeſty: *Their Glory is departed.*

But *England's* two Eyes are ſtill in her Head. Her Univerſities ſee clearly 'tis their Sovereign Intereſt to maintain Monarchy and Epiſcopacy together. And their Ancient and Modern Writings on theſe Subjects, are Monuments of their Zeal for the Government they live under. They know they cannot change but for the worſe.

No Body doubts their Love to the Conſtitution it ſelf. All the Queſtion is, how they ſtand affected to the Prince who governs them. And here I have nothing more to ſay to our dear Brethren the *Cantabrigians*, but *Euge's* and *Macte's* for their Loyalty, which hath run as high and ſteddy in theſe later, as in any of the former Reigns. But it hath been charged upon our *Oxford* Men, that ever ſince the Revolution they have not been entirely devoted to the reigning Prince; becauſe the Revolution broke in upon two of their fundamental Maxims of Civil Government, in preaching up of which they had diſtinguiſhed their Zeal, *viz. Non-reſiſtance*, and *indefeaſible hereditary Right*. I ſhall ſhew preſently, that though theſe were the Grounds on which they have always been ſuſpected and accus'd, yet they were not 4

the real Cauſes of any Diſaffection in them, to the late or preſent Government.

Car. 2 13 & 14 ca: 3.

I. Their Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance* is well known to be this; *That it is not lawful on any pretence or occaſion whatever to reſiſt the Prince (King or Queen.)* This, before the Revolution, was the Doctrine of the whole Church and State of *England*, as appears from the Homilies and Writings of the greateſt Divines, as well as from poſitive Laws and Acts of Parliament. But then the Revolution is allow'd on all Hands to be an Exception from this Rule: And ſeveral *Oxford* Men who have maintain'd the Old Doctrine in its former Extent and ſtrict Senſe, have laid themſelves and their Univerſity under the Imputation of being diſaffected to that great Change, and the Settlement of the Crown conſequent thereupon. Dr. *Sacheverel* was impeach'd of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors by the Houſe of Commons, and brought to a publick Tryal, for preaching up *Non-reſiſtance* upon that very Day when this great Work was begun. The Managers againſt him prove that Reſiſtance was then uſed: The Biſhop of *Oxford* in his Speech at that Tryal affirms the ſame thing, and poſitively maintains the Lawfulneſs of it.

The

The Doctor himself endeavoured to 6
make his Doctrine and the Revolution consistent, by saying, *that what he had said of Resistance, was not applicable to the Revolution*; and in his Sermon he wou'd bring it about without any Resistance, and seems inclinable to settle it upon the *Abdication* of King *James*. But his Learned Advocates, who were Witnesses of that Change, knew the Means of effecting it so well, that they gave it up to the *Managers*, as a Case excepted from the general Rule of *Non-resistance*: And concluded thereupon, That though the general Doctrine *of not Resisting the Prince upon any pretence whatever* is still to be preach'd and maintain'd, yet the Exception is always implied, that *there are however some extraordinary Cases, wherein he may be resisted.* In this Determination the Doctor rested, as appear'd by his Speech which immediately follow'd.

I have mention'd this Case more particularly, because Dr. *Sacheverel* was supposed by every body to speak the highest Sense of his University upon this Point. And they testified their Approbation of what he, and his Advocates had done, by receiving them afterwards with all the Honour and Respect imaginable.

So

So that the *Oxonians* are fully satisfied in the Revolution, and not at all disaffected to the succeeding Government on that Account.

7 II. Nor are they in any more Pain for *Hereditary Right*, or the Descent of the Crown according to Proximity of Blood; though this was once their Doctrine too. For in the Year 1683, they decreed it to be *false, impious and seditious, and destructive of all Government in Church and State, to affirm, That Birth-right or Proximity of Blood gave no Title to Rule or Government; and that it was lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succession to the Crown.* They then held that Hereditary Right must necessarily take place by the Laws of God, of Nature, and Nations: Of God, who Established it as a Rule among his own People, and by vertue of it suffer'd those who were nurst up in Idolatry to ascend the Throne without impediment, unless he set them aside himself; which he never did but by express and clear Revelation of his Will. Of Nature, as best representing that Congruity and Sympathy of the Head and Members in the Natural Body of Man, to which a well-order'd Kingdom bears the neerest Resemblance. Of Nations, who all unanimously agree in

in this way of Succeſſion, (except one Kingdom, very unhappy in the contrary Practice) and which hath been ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd amongſt us, that not only Infants, but even Women, who are excluded from all inferior Offices, have been admitted to the Supreme Government.

A noted Writer ſays, he never heard 8
that the *Oxonians* ever repented of this Decree. If he means they never burnt it, or formally repeal'd it in expreſs Words, he hath Reaſon for what he ſays. But if (as all the Reformed teach) *a Change of Life and Practice is the beſt Repentance*, they have moſt remarkably and openly repented of it; for they are long ſince gone into the contrary Practice.

This Change was not wrought in them by Artifice, Surprize, or Compulſion, but they proceeded to it very freely and gradually, and with a deliberate view of both Sides of the Queſtion.

For as ſoon as the Revolution was 9
accompliſhed, the ſpace of ſix Months was granted Men for taking the Oaths, and qualifying themſelves for holding the Preferments they enjoy'd. During which time the *Oxonians* yielded ſuch an eaſie and general Compliance, that at the half Year's end, it was hard to find a Non-Juror among them.

Now

Now it muſt be remember'd, that there was ſcarce any one of this Set of Men, who had not taken the uſual Oaths to King *James*. Nay ſeveral of them were ſo much older than the *Reſtoration*, as to be fully acquainted with thoſe Times, and had ſeen the Difficulties which attended Changes of Government. And yet I never heard that they remonſtrated againſt this, but quietly came into it; and preſently addreſs'd the new King and Queen, Pray'd for them in their Churches and Chappels, ſent Repreſentatives to the Parliaments ſummon'd by them, gave Thanks for their Victories over the Friends of the excluded King, and acknowledged the Government by all Acts of Obedience and Submiſſion uſual in former Reigns: Which ſhew'd they were ſatisfied with it.

In the Infancy of this New Government, both the Old King's Daughters being then Childleſs, a Motion was made in Parliament to entail the Crown (in default of their Iſſue) upon the now reigning Family. But before they came to any Reſolution, the *Princeſs of Denmark* was deliver'd of a Son; which for the preſent put an end to that Motion. But he dying in that Reign, the ſame Propoſal was revived, and the Crown ſettled accordingly.

Now

Now was the time for the *Oxonians* to remember their Decree, and ſhew their Affection to Hereditary Right. For they knew very well that his preſent Majeſty, did not claim by immediate Proximity of Blood, but by the Act of Settlement. They had time enough from the firſt mention of it, to conſult about it, and draw up what they had to offer againſt it; but inſtead of that, they helped to promote it by the Votes of their Repreſentatives, and thereby farther juſtified and confirm'd the Revolution.

Surely Men of their Penetration could never think that Matters muſt neceſſarily reſt here. They muſt ſee 'twas poſſible that ſome body or other might attempt to break through the Settlement with an Hereditary Claim; in which caſe they could not hope to ſtand by as Neuters; but wou'd be obliged by their Places and Functions to pray and proteſt againſt him, and treat him as a Rebel to their lawful King and his Realms. They did undoubtedly foreſee this; and look'd on it without ſtarting aſide out of the way they were in. And therefore what I aſſerted before, follows now by a neceſſary Conſequence; They are not diſaffected to the preſent Government on the ſcore of Hereditary Right.

12 An Experiment of this hath already been made; for when at the Death of King *James*, the Hereditary Claim was ſtill continued in Oppoſition to the Parliamentary Eſtabliſhment, they declared their Abhorrence of the firſt, and unalterable Adherence to the laſt. And to Seal all their former Recognitions of the ſaid Eſtabliſhment in the moſt Sacred manner, they took the Abjuration Oath, by which they effectually ſent Hereditary Right into Everlaſting Baniſhment. For hereby they declare, *that they willingly and heartily Swear to Defend the Succeſſion of the Crown as ſettled by the Act of Limitation, againſt all Perſons whatſoever.* Which certainly they never wou'd have Sworn had they believ'd in their Conſcience, what they profeſſed formerly, that the Hereditary Claim carry'd any thing of Divine or Moral Right along with it, which muſt render it inviolable, and by conſequence make it not only diſhonourable, but impious to defeat it.

13 It wou'd be the hardeſt thing in the World to affirm, or but ſuggeſt of this Venerable and Learned Body of Men, that they took this Oath, and by their Examples encouraged others to take it, againſt what is Right and Juſt. If they had

had any uneaſie Thoughts about it, they had the Example of their Predeceſſors, how to diſcharge themſelves of it. For when the Solemn League and Covenant was impoſed upon the *Oxonians* in 1643, by the then prevailing Powers, they met in Convocation to conſider of it; and when they found they could not take it with a Safe Conſcience, they drew up the Reaſons of their Refuſal, and made them publick. And this they did at a time when the Parliament's Garriſon and Viſitors were among them. 'Tis true, their Refuſal ended in their Expulſion and Baniſhment from the Univerſity. But that was what might be expected from ſuch Powers.

Far be it from us to entertain ſuch a thought of the Preſent Eſtabliſhment. It is a Glorious Privilege we gain by the Revolution, that we are aſſured of Eaſe and Indulgence in matters of pure Conſcience. And what can be more matter of Conſcience than a Solemn Tremendous Oath? This is infinitely more weighty, than all the little Wranglings and Scruples of Diſſenters. And therefore if the *Oxonians*, finding their Conſciences perplext about this Oath, had met in their Convocation, and drawn up an Humble Petition to Her late Majeſty (in the beginning of whoſe Reign it was firſt offer'd to them)

That the great Averſeneſs they found in themſelves to take it, proceeded not from any want of Duty or Affection to Her Majeſty, but purely from ſuch Motives of Conſcience as they might have ſpecified; can we imagine that ſuch a Petition wou'd not have been receiv'd and conſider'd with Tenderneſs? The harſh Proceedings of King *James* upon the like Occaſion, was one of the greateſt Errors of his Reign, and wou'd never have been copied by his Succeſſors. And therefore there can be no other Reaſon aſſign'd, why the *Oxonians* ſhou'd not uſe their Chriſtian Liberty, in a time of ſo much Freedom and Security to Conſcience, to diſcover what Objections they had to the Abjuration Oath, but that they had none to diſcover, they were perfectly ſatisfied and eaſie about it.

14 I believe no Body has any other Opinion of the *Oxonians*, but that they were ſincerely Affected to the Queen, eſpecially in the latter Part of Her Reign; and that their Hearts went along with their Addreſſes, which ran in as high Profeſſions of Loyalty, and Recognitions of Right, as cou'd, without Flattery, be preſented to any Sovereign. And if they are not as Zealous for King *George*, it is not upon the Account of his Title,

which,

which, by the Confeſſion of all Parties, is as ſtrong and good as ever the Queen's was.

Nay, I dare be bold to ſay, they once intended to recommend themſelves to the preſent King, with ſome higher Degree of Complaiſance and Devotion, if that was poſſible. I my ſelf can bear them a Teſtimony, with what Tranſports of Joy they proclaimed him. I was almoſt afraid they had too ſoon forgot their Old Miſtreſs; and had ſome Pain for the Gray-headed and Honourable, leaſt they ſhou'd appear too Juvenile in their Flouriſhes and Acclamations.

Thoſe who are now call'd *Jacobite-Heads*, appear'd with the foremoſt in their Healths and good Wiſhes.

I am confident I have ſaid enough to ſatisfy any rational Perſon, that the Univerſity of *Oxford*, taken in their publick Capacity, have done as much towards Accompliſhing the Ends of the Revolution, and perpetuating the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as any Body of Men in the King's Dominions. For do but conſider what might have been the Conſequences, if they had prov'd Headſtrong and Untractable at the Beginning of any of the three Reigns. If they had ſtood out upon their Old Principles of *Non-reſiſtance*, and

and *Hereditary Right*, 'tis no abſurd Suppoſition to imagine, that one half of our Clergy (whom they may be ſuppoſed to have Educated) and perhaps a greater Number of Laity, would have kept them Company. And then the Diſſenters, who juſtly think themſelves happy under the preſent Adminiſtration, wou'd have found more Reaſon to bewail their Refractorineſs, than to upbraid them, as now they do, for Prevaricating with God and Man, becauſe they have conform'd in all things to the Revolution Government. Perhaps the Diſſenters are diſappointed, that ſomething has not driven all the Churchmen out of their Places, and made it neceſſary for the Government to put themſelves in their room. But whoever are Looſers, I am ſure he is no Gainer by the Conduct of the *Oxonians*, whoſe Intereſt they are abſurdly charged to eſpouſe, and from whom ſome are pleas'd to denominate them *Jacobites*. I cannot think them ſo loſt to common Senſe and Modeſty, as to expect any thing from him, equivalent to what they have merited from the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

16 I have hitherto ſpoke of the *Oxonians* as an Univerſity, conſiſting of Heads, Fellows, and Chaplains of Colleges, Tutors and

and Profeſſors of all Sorts. Theſe are the Men who are to ſeaſon the Youth of the Nation with loyal Principles. I know they do it: And upon a careful Recollection, I cannot think of one, but what wou'd give any Security to the Government, and take any Teſt of Loyalty, which ſhou'd be enjoin'd. Theſe things fully anſwer the Ends of an Univerſity to the State. I don't ſay that every reſpectful thing to the Government hath paſs'd, when propos'd in Convocation. It happens there, as in all publick Aſſemblies, that many a good Deſign miſcarries for the ſake of him who propos'd it, or through the Caprice and Humour of ſeveral who have Votes. Neither do I pretend, that no Treaſonable Words have ever been heard in our Streets: For who can vouch for the Tongues of ſo many Young Men in their warm Frolicks? But this ought no more to ſtain the Loyalty of their Governours, than a Grave Schoolmaſter ought to be counted a Thief, becauſe his Scholars will ſometimes rob an Orchard. Nay we are far from being ſingular, if ſome few have betray'd a manifeſt Diſaffection by refuſing to Conform But alas, what are theſe few Drones in Compariſon of the active Swarms wherewith our Hives have fill'd

theſe

theſe Realms, to the great Advantage of Church and State, as now Eſtabliſhed? I will not meddle with our *Oxonian* Nobility, and our *Old Chancellor* at the Head of them, who with their Arms and Counſels ſupported *Great William's* Throne againſt the Attempts of the Exiled Family. Our Gentry of little inferior Merit, have fill'd the Houſe of Commons and all Places Military and Civil, with *his Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects*. As for the Chiefs of the Church Militant train'd up by us, if I ſhou'd reckon up all our *Kennets*, *Lambs* and *Brays*, I mean Clergy-men of the ſame Principles with theſe unqueſtionable Loyaliſts, when ſhou'd I reach the End of the Catalogue? Look down from the Arch-Biſhop, through the whole Bench, and ſee if there be one of ours, who is not right for the Revolution and Eſtabliſhment. I know the Mouth of Calumny has been open'd againſt one or two of them; and I'll undertake effectually to ſtop it.

17 Why ſhou'd not I begin with Doctor *Atterbury*, the preſent Biſhop of *Rocheſter*? I am ſure his Advocate (if he needs one) may produce as good Evidence as any in the World, to ſet him *rectus in Curia*. He hath been a noted Preacher many

many Years, and in a Printed Volume of fourteen Sermons has taken all proper Occaſions to adorn the common Cauſe with his choiceſt Flowers of Rhetorick. In his Sermon before Q. *Mary*, *May* 29, 1692. *God* (ſays he) *hath lately been pleaſed to beſtow upon us new Inſtances of Mercy and Goodneſs; anſwering at laſt the many Prayers and Faſtings, by which we have beſought him ſo long, for the Eſtabliſhment of their Majeſties Throne, and for the Succeſs of their Arms* againſt the expuls'd K. *James*. In another before the *Commons*, which he ſtyles, *The Wiſdom of Providence manifeſted in the Revolutions of Government*, May 29. 1701. He has this Encomium on K. *William: We have now at the head of our Troops and our Councils, a Prince who hath happily joyn'd together the Extreams of Martial and Political Virtues; and knows as well how to govern a free People by their own Laws and Cuſtoms, as to command Legions: Who, whether in the Cabinet, or in the Field, is ſtill equally in his Sphere; and is always indifferent, therefore, either to War or Peace, any further than the one or the other ſhall conduce to the Good of his People, and the general Intereſt of Mankind.*

Again, *Nov.* 5, 1704, before Queen *Anne*. *To this Day's double Deliverance*

it is owing, that we are freed from the Fears of Papal Superſtition and Bondage; that we enjoy all our Religious and Civil Liberties, &c. He concludes with a Satyr on *France*, and a Panegyrick on our own Adminiſtration. Again, at *Guild-hall, September* 28, 1706, at the Election of the Lord Mayor: *God* (ſaith he) *hath bleſs'd the Arms of the beſt of Queens, taken up in Defence of THE BEST OF CAUSES, with unparallel'd Succeſſes abroad.* And laſtly, at a State-Faſt at St. *Paul*'s, *April* 9, 1707. *Our Succeſſes have indeed been the Conſequences of a juſt and honourable, nay neceſſary War.* And afterwards he deplores our Ingratitude for the Bleſſings of the Revolution, in theſe Words: *No ſooner was our Deliverance from the illegal Attempts of a late Reign compleated, but we forgot our Danger and our Duty.*

And then to raiſe himſelf a laſting Monument of his Loyalty, and render his Authority in theſe Points, of univerſal Service to the Revolution and Eſtabliſhment, he collected his Sermons into one Volume in 1708, and dedicated them to the preſent Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, demonſtrating a ſteddy Adherence to theſe Principles for a great many Years together, when his Learning and Judgment were not to be queſtion'd. Whence I cannot

cannot but pity the Infelicity of his Reputation (for in other Caſes he is fortunate enough) that he ſhou'd be deem'd an Enemy to that *Revolution* and *Settlement*, which he has ſo clearly aſſerted to be the Gift and Care of Heaven.

Another who has labour'd under the like hard Cenſure, but not in an equal Degree, is the good Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *Smalridge*. I have ſeen his Name, in the beginning of this Reign, in libellous Papers among the diſaffected Party. But I believe he who put it there, will never be able to do his Majeſty ſo much Service (tho' now in a Publick Employment) as the Biſhop has done him. He hath a Character of great Moment and Influence over all thoſe who know him, or have heard of him: Pray hear how piouſly he employs it to the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, in his late Charge to his Clergy. 18

'Let us, my Brethren, approve our 'ſelves true and genuine Sons of the 'Church of *England*, by a ſteady Adhe-'rence to its Doctrines. Among which 'Doctrines Let us be ſteadfaſt to thoſe 'Principles of Loyalty, by which our 'Church hath been long diſtinguiſh'd, and 'for which it hath been often reproach'd. 'Let us not eſpouſe thoſe Principles, let 'us not imitate thoſe Practices of Diſo-

' bedience and Reſiſtance, againſt which
' we have been wont to expreſs ſo juſt
' and commendable a Zeal. Let us ſe-
' rioufly conſider how indelible a Brand
' of Infamy and Scandal we ſhould bring
' upon our Selves, upon our Order, and
' upon our Church; how juſtly we ſhou'd
' be liable to the Imputation of the fouleſt
' Hypocriſie, and greateſt Prevarications
' with God and Man, if after all our Pro-
' feſſions of Loyalty, after having bound
' upon our Souls the Duties of Faithful-
' neſs and Allegiance to his preſent Ma-
' jeſty by ſolemn and repeated Oaths, we
' ſhou'd break theſe Bonds aſunder, and
' caſt away theſe Cords from us; If whilſt
' in the daily Prayers of our Church we
' pretend *moſt heartily to beſeech God with*
' *his Favour to behold our moſt gracious So-*
' *vereign, and to ſtrengthen him that he*
' *may vanquiſh and overcome all his Ene-*
' *mies*, we our ſelves ſhou'd be found in
' the Number of thoſe Enemies; if whilſt
' at our Approaches to the Holy Altar we
' pray unto God, *that we, duly conſidering*
' *whoſe Authority our King hath, may faith-*
' *fully ſerve, honour, and humbly obey him,*
' *according to God's bleſſed Word and Ordi-*
' *nance*, we ſhou'd any way diſſerve, diſho-
' nour, and diſobey him, in open Defiance
' of God's Word and Ordinance.

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'In ſpeaking to this Head, I have 'purpoſely choſe to addreſs my ſelf to 'you in the ſame Words, which I made 'uſe of the laſt Year, in a Sermon 'Preach'd at my Cathedral, at a pub-'lick Ordination, and before a great 'Audience, whilſt the Rebellion was at 'the higheſt. And I gladly embrace 'this Opportunity of returning my 'Thanks to you, my Reverend Brethren 'of this City of *Briſtol*, for your ready 'and cheerful Compliance with the In-'ſtructions I ſent you, to put your re-'ſpective Auditories in mind of their 'Sworn Duty of Allegiance to the King, 'at that Critical Juncture, when we 'were alarm'd with the Report of a de-'ſign'd Attack upon this City, by the 'Favourers of the Rebellion. Where-'by you gave ſuch a Proof of your Fi-'delity and Allegiance to his Majeſty, 'as few Subjects of our Profeſſion had 'an Opportunity of giving, and ſuch a 'one as muſt ſatisfy all unprejudiced 'Perſons of your ſincere and hearty 'Affection to the preſent Government: 'In which I hope you will, notwith-'ſtanding any Diſcouragements you may 'meet with, by any ill Treatment from 'your Fellow-Subjects, ſteddily and un-'alterably perſevere.

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These are the Words of that profound Casuist, Bishop *Smalridge*, in maintenance of the present Government, against all Pretenders: And 'tis impossible they shou'd be so gravely utter'd, not only by him, but by any Man who has the least Remains of Conscience, were he not at the same time convinced, that the Revolution and Alteration of the Succession consequent thereupon, are Established in Righteousness, and that no Injury is done to any Man living by that great Change.

And thus I have clear'd the Principles of these two Bishops, with Respect to our present Constitution, and prov'd them to be sincere (if they may be allow'd to be sincere in their Prayers and Preaching) and very hearty *Revolutionists.*

19 I can pretend to do as much for the Famous Doctor *Sacheverell*, and that from his own Speech at his forementiond Tryal.

For there he justifies his Affection to the Queen 'by his having taken, not 'only the Oaths of Allegiance to her, 'but that of Abjuration against the Pre-'tender. He calls God to Witness he 'had no Traiterous Intention towards 'her, but was from the bottom of his 'Soul Zealously and Affectionately Loy-

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'al to her, of which he cou'd have 'produced Evidences in great abun-'dance. He Glories that his College 'contributed much towards the late 'Happy Revolution; which he moſt 'Solemnly proteſts he had no Intention 'to Traduce or Condemn, nor to un-'dermine the Proteſtant Succeſſion as 'by Law Eſtabliſhed, but exerted his 'beſt Endeavours for its Security. Ac-'cordingly he earneſtly beſeeches God, 'in Defect of Iſſue from her Majeſty, *to perpetuate the Succeſſion of the Crown in the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of* Hanover, *which he looks upon as, next to the Divine Providence, the beſt Guard we have againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power, the beſt Security of our Church, and of the Conſtitution of our Government.*

Now if the Doctor's Speech had (as all Wiſe Men imagin'd) the Approbation of our two Biſhops, who were then his Brother Doctors, both eſteem'd the greateſt Champions of their Univerſity, and the latter for many Years their applauded Moderator in Divinity; then we may reaſonably look on it as containing the Suffrages of our Univerſity for the Juſtice of the Revolution and Succuſſion.

Thus our *Oxonians* having not only admitted, but highly extoll'd and ratified

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theſe Changes; it may be ask'd what their preſent Sentiments are concerning their Old Doctrines of Non Reſiſtance and Hereditary Right.

Before I anſwer this, I wou'd obſerve, that the latter has been as fully avow'd by them as the other, as appears by their Decree. It is not indeed found ſo much in their Writings, becauſe in an Hereditary Kingdom, it was lookt on as an unavoidable Conſequence of the Former; if the Father died poſſeſs'd of his Kingdom, his Child that Moment is of courſe King or Queen; which is the ground of that Maxim in the Common Law, that *the King of England never dies.* Nay even in Caſes where the Parent has been depoſed, the Child, tho' a *Minor* or Infant, has been immediately inveſted with the Regal Dignity. Thus upon the Depoſing of *Edward* II, his Son *Edward* III forthwith ſucceeded him, tho' but fourteen Years Old. And in *Scotland*, their laſt Queen *Mary*, when forced by her Rebellious Subjects to quit her Throne, yet was not obliged to reſign it to any other but her Infant Son. But if we wou'd know the particular Senſe of the *Oxonians* in this Point, we may learn it from their great Oracle and *quandam* Member, *Hooker*, *Eccleſ. Pol.* lib. 8. *In Kingdoms Hereditary Birth giveth Right unto Sovereign Dominion*; *and the*

the Death of the Predeceſſor putteth the Succeſſor by Blood in ſeiſin. Publick Solemnities do but ſerve for an open Teſtification of the Inheritor's Right, or belong unto the form of inducting him into Poſſeſſion of that thing he hath Right unto. And he cenſures the Arguments to the contrary, drawn from the Inauguration of *Saul*, of *David*, of *Solomon*, and others, as unjuſt and Inſolent Poſitions. Now to the Queſtion, How they hold and explain theſe Doctrines at preſent. Doctor *Tilly* in his Sermon before the Univerſity, *July* 19. 1705. tells them, *they are gone off from their old Principles.* But I, who am no Caſuiſt, muſt keep to the ſtronger ſide, my Noble Triumvirate, who ſtill Glory in them, as their peculiar Badges of untainted Loyalty. Biſhop *Smalridge* tells his Clergy, *that our Church hath been long diſtinguiſh'd by them, and often reproach'd for them: But that they cannot be her genuine Sons, without adhering to them.* Dr. *Sacheverell*, and all of that Side, Preach up *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* in its ancient Strictneſs. Our Univerſity, in their late Addreſſes to Queen *Anne* and King *George*, own theſe Doctrines in very Emphatical Terms.

Now ſince the Univerſity not only ap- 23
prov'd of the Revolution by an After-conſent, but likewiſe contributed to the bringing it about, as Dr. *Sacheverell* ob-

ſerv'd before, and that to ſuch good Purpoſe, that they and their *quondam* Members were undoubtedly the *cauſa ſine qua non* of it, ſuch conſiderable Inſtruments in it, that without their Concurrence it could never have been compleated as it now ſtands; It remains to conſider whether their Principles ſuffer'd in putting their hands to a Work ſo contrary to them. 'Tis a nice Point, I confeſs, and enough to puzzle the moſt ſubtile Wits. Sir *Simon Harcourt* (in *Sacheverell*'s Tryal) ſays, they will open to a Revolution, and cloſe again, without taking any harm. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* ſays much the ſame thing, in his Sermon before the Lords, *January* 30. 1702 *Our Foundations, 'tis to be hoped, are not ſhaken by the Weight of thoſe many great and extraordinary Revolutions that have paſs'd upon us.——But if we ungratefully alter our Notions of the Divine Right of Government, and throw off our Ancient and Primitive Rules of Obedience, we ſhall make an unworthy Return for the Mercies we have receiv'd.* But I who am perſwaded theſe Bars will break ſooner than open on ſuch Occaſions, and underſtanding after all there's not the leaſt Flaw in them, am forced upon a different *Hypotheſis* (which however I ſubmit to Wiſer Heads) That juſt at that Critical Juncture when the Nation was bringing forth the Revolution, theſe Principles were depoſited as Pawns

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in the Hands of Mr. *Calvin*, and Mr. *Knox*, and others of theirs taken up in the room of them, which not only yielded to the Work, but very much promoted it. For *Calvin* Institut. lib. iv. c. 10. teaches, *That if there be now any popular Officers ordain'd to moderate the Licentiousness of Kings, such as the* Lacedemonian Ephori *of Old, and perhaps the three Estates, when Solemnly assembled in every Kingdom; I am so far from forbidding them to restrain the Exorbitances of their Kings, if they play the Tyrant, and trample upon the poor People, that I pronounce them Guilty of a wicked Breach of their Trust, if they connive at them in such Cases; because they basely give up the Peoples Liberties, of which they knew themselves to be* Guardians, *by God's own Appointment.* And if so clear a Writer can want an Exposition, 'tis given by his Scholar *Beza*, in his 24th Epistle to the Foreigners Churches in *England. If any Man, tho' lawfully invested with the Supreme Magistracy, shall either unjustly spoil or deprive his Subjects of those Rights and Privileges which he hath sworn to maintain, or otherwise oppress them by open Tyranny; in such Cases the ordinary Officers are to oppose him: For they are bound, not only by their several Offices, but by God's special Appointment, to protect the Subjects, not only against Foreign, but Domestick Tyrants.*

Theſe Words I am ſure cannot be made plainer, unleſs it be by thoſe who have put them in Practice.

In like manner *Knox* was bold enough to declare even in the Preſence of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, That *if Princes exceed their Bounds, and act the contrary of thoſe things wherein they ſhou'd be obey'd, there's no doubt but they may be reſiſted by Force and Arms.* And in his Hiſtory he preſents us with theſe Maxims of Government; *That Princes for juſt Cauſes may be depoſed; that if they prove Tyrants to God and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Allegiance; that Proximity of Blood conſtitutes no Man King over Chriſtian People, but ſome ſpecial and extraordinary Diſpenſation of Almighty God.*

23 Now I deſire to ſtand aſide, and leave the Premiſes to the Conſideration of Men of all Intereſts, Parties, and Perſwaſions whatever. Let them compare them with the Grounds and Reaſons of the Revolution, as they ſtand upon the Records of thoſe Times, and then judge if they be not accommodated to this great Change, infinitely better than the Pledges left in their Room, which have no manner of fitneſs for this Occaſion, and may be Wrack'd and Tortur'd to comply, but in vain. Our *Oxonians* may deny, if they pleaſe, that they ever embraced them; but they have embraced the Men that

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embraced them, and call'd it a *happy Work*, which they produced; and then, if they have taught me any Logick, they have eſpouſed the Principles too; for *qui vult finem, vult media.*

This ought to be a warning to us, how we deſpiſe any Man or his Gifts. For here we find theſe high and ſtately Academicks reduced to the Neceſſity of truckling to their long-ſcorn'd Adverſaries, whom they had a Thouſand times call'd Republicans and Antimonarchiſts, and becoming their humble and ever-obliged Debtors for the uſe of thoſe very Poſitions, which but five Years before they had Solemnly decreed 'to be Falſe, Seditious, and Im-'pious, and moſt of them alſo Heretical 'and Blaſphemous, Infamous to Chriſti-'an Religion, and deſtructive of all Go-'vernment in Church and State: For the 'ſake of which they prohibited the Rea-'ding of the Books wherein they were 'contain'd, and order'd them to be pub-'lickly burnt by their Marſhal in the 'Court of their Schools. But perhaps their paſſing through the Fire refin'd them from the malignant Qualities aforeſaid, and fitted them for Service.

But I do ill to run on without making 24
a proper Diſtinction. I am ſenſible of it, and now correct my ſelf. *Calvin*, *Beza* and *Knox*, as I have ſhew'd, are moſt admirably fitted for neceſſary Changes; and

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the Counter Principles comport beſt with an Eſtabliſhed Government. Certainly this cannot be denied. When a Kingdom (after a violent Concuſſion) is once well ſettled, and the Rights and Privileges of the Subject ſecured, Non-Reſiſtance and Hereditary Right are the beſt Doctrines in the World to perpetuate the Felicities of a Nation: They are ſuch as a Wiſe Prince will ever Encourage, and a Loyal Clergy conſtantly inculcate. And therefore our *Oxonians* could not teſtifie their good Affections to the preſent Royal Family and Eſtabliſhment better, than by reſuming their Old Doctrines, which are the greateſt Supports under Heaven, that Theology can give them, when they are fairly and honeſtly apply'd, as they are at this preſent, if we can depend upon the moſt Sacred Aſſurances that Oaths and Prayers and Proteſtations can give us. Dr. *Sacheverell* concludes a hearty Prayer for *the moſt Illuſtrious Houſe of* Hanover, with ſaying, *he could not apprehend how the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, for which he was impeach'd, tended to weaken or undermine the Succeſſion of the Crown in that Family, which he proteſted he lookt upon, under the Divine Providence, as our only Security.*

And thus I think I have been as good as my Word in the Title of this Tract. For I have prov'd both this great

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Fountain of Arts and Learning, and the Streams of it too, to be clear from the Dregs of diſloyal Principles with Reſpect to the preſent Government. And the Proofs I have made uſe of, have been moſt Demonſtrative, *viz.* the Oaths, Addreſſes, Prayers, Sermons and Speeches of the whole Univerſity, and their moſt eminent Members.

But I don't ſay we are wholly to be left to our ſelves. *Non-Reſiſtance*, when moſt carefully nurſt here, has been known to loſe its firſt Syllable amongſt us. We are all Iſlanders, ſubject to Change: And though we are an Inland Town, the Sea of Riots and Tumults has threaten'd ſometimes to break in upon us. For the reſtraining of which our *Pallas* wanted more Arms than what are commonly given her in the *Oxford* Prints. The plain Engliſh of the Caſe is this: Our Buſineſs is to diſpute; and Political Queſtions are as much the Subjects of our Debates, as other Topicks of Philoſophy. Our Profeſſors and Governours, as I obſerv'd before, always hold that Side of the Queſtion which is moſt favourable to the Government: But they have a Company of ſmart Pupils for their Opponents, who were commonly too hard for them. Hereupon his Majeſty, our Supream Moderator, was oblig'd to make the Balance betwixt theſe Diſputants, by ſending a competent Number 25

ber of Reſpondents, who, to ſhew they belong'd to the Court, were habited differently from the reſt of the Students, in Scarlet-colour'd Cloaths.

Theſe Reſpondents know how to handle their Arguments with irreſiſtable Force, ſo that one of them is a Match for half a dozen Opponents. They have no Books, and ſeldom think, and are commonly aſleep, or in an Ale-Houſe, or Tavern; and yet their Anſwers in Diſputations are ſo quick and piercing, that the ſurprized Opponents cry out,

Jam jam efficaci do manus ſcientiæ.

So that now all our Diſputes terminate on the Government's Side.

26 My Buſineſs is not to vouch for the Affections of all our People, but to ſhew that they are not diſaffected upon any fundamental Point of Government. My Acquaintance I confeſs is not very large, but I have look'd over all the remarkable Books, Papers, and Pamphlets relating to our Government in this Reign; and I find none, except what come from profeſs'd *Jacobites*, who are but a handfull of Men, which offer any thing to weaken the Conſtitution, but on the contrary confirm it. The Pamphlet which ſeem'd moſt obnoxious, call'd *Engliſh Advice to the Freeholders*, makes it a great Merit in the Church-Party, as he ſtyles them, 'that they were

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'the Men who made and confirm'd the 'Act of Settlement, who recognized the 'King's Title, and proclaim'd him with 'all poſſible Marks of Duty, ſettled a 'bountiful Revenue upon him, and ſtu-'died to pleaſe him in all things: And he is 'perſuaded that not one Churchman of Di-'ſtinction throughout the three Kingdoms 'appear'd in the leaſt diſaffected to the 'King, but all unanimouſly concurr'd in 'a Submiſſion to his Government.' Did they ſo? Then pray be patient, and let the King govern as he pleaſes, ſo long as he exceeds not his juſt Prerogative. I was afraid, when firſt I heard of this Writer, that he was a ſecond *Doleman*, and had ript up the whole Foundation of the Settlement. But the Expreſſions I have cited, ſoon convinced me, that the Pain was not in his Conſcience, but only an overflowing of Choler for ſome Changes in the Adminiſtration, which are unavoidable in every Reign, and are always attended with ſome Murmurings.

If the Cry of the Church's Danger, be 27
another Ground of Diſaffection, 'tis far from being peculiar to this Reign, but is as old as that of King *James* II. when Biſhop *Atterbury* ſays 'twas certainly in Danger; he means in its outward Conſtitution, and with reſpect to its Temporalities; for as for true Piety and Devotion, full Aſſemblies at Prayers and Sacra-

ments and Reverence paid to Miniſters, he affirms it was in a moſt flouriſhing Condition, incomparably beyond what it was after the Revolution. See his Sermon before the Lord Mayor, *April* 19, 1707. Now ſome of the old Doctors wou'd have call'd it a Bleſſing to have the Church thus endanger'd. *David* ſays, *It is good for me, that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy Statutes. Before I was afflicted, I went wrong; but now have I kept thy Word.* And that great Example of true Chriſtianity, Dr. *H. Hammond*, in a Letter to a Friend, ſays, *All kind of Proſperity (even that which we moſt think we can juſtifie the moſt importunate Purſuance of, the flouriſhing of a Church and Monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great Ills; and nothing is ſo entirely ſafe and wholſome, as to be continued under God's Diſciplines.* And when there was a Proſpect of the King's Return, the good Doctor ſeriouſly conſidering how few would be the better for the Change, ſaid, *As for the Church, 'twas certain, Perſecution was generally, the happieſt Means of propagating her; ſhe then grew faſteſt when pruned moſt; was then of the beſt Complexion and moſt healthy, when fainting through loſs of Blood.* Thus piouſly he (as Biſhop *Fell* commemorates in his Life, *Fol.* p 28.) who had himſelf experienced both States, and found the Afflicted generally the greater Bleſſing.

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Though Biſhop *Atterbury*, where he owns the Bleſſing, renders Praiſes for our Deliverance from it. But I ſee no Reaſon to apprehend that the preſent Reign will afford him any new Theme for ſuch Thankſgivings. I know ſomething of our Prayer againſt Temptations, and our Licence in the Goſpel to fly from Perſecution: But according to an old Rule, *ita fugias, ne per feneſtram.* Beſides, there's a Difference betwixt flying and fighting. The antient Doctors took the Courage to *ſuffer*, from contemplating the vain and tranſitory Enjoyments of the preſent State, and the Fullneſs and Eternity of future Happineſs: But ſince the Perfection of Microſcopes in this polite Age, the Moderns have diſcover'd a great many more Reaſons for loving their Mother Earth, and caring for the outward Man, and the Appurtenances thereof. This latter is the more agreeable Principle to our poor Fleſh and Blood. Self-Preſervation, though not always conſiſtent with Chriſtianity, is confeſſedly a very ancient and very natural Principle.

But I am got quite out of the Precincts 28
of *Oxford*; to which I return. No Body can doubt but that the loſs of our old Chancellor (who was very well belov'd here) gave us a Diſtaſte to ſome in the Government; eſpecially while ſome kind of obſcure Reports laſted; which not having been

been verified hitherto, we ſuſpend our Opinion of that Occurrence till better Information. This I am verily perſwaded of, that his Majeſty ſuffers not in any one's Opinion upon that Account.

29 To conclude; whoever ſhall hear our Chapels reſound every Morning and Evening with Prayers for King *George* and his whole Family, if he have but one Grain of Charity more than our Diſſenting Brethren, will conclude his Cauſe is very ſafe amongſt us. And whatever Diſaffection may remain in ſome, (which however is more than compenſated by the active Zeal of others) it cannot ſpring from the *Jacobites* Principles of damning the Settlement, unleſs we can be ſuppos'd at the ſame time to damn our Souls with ſwearing to it contrary to a good Conſcience. And for our Diviſions, Murmurings, Averſions, and political Feuds, there is one infallible Cure, were it poſſible to be had by every one of us, *viz.* A convenient Sphere in Church or State, wherein we might glorioufly diſplay our moſt Loyal and truly Proteſtant Affections.

FINIS.